# A *Smith* and *Cutlers* Plain Dialogue about *WHIG* and *TORY*.

*It whigs being carping at Tory's applauding of honest Whigs as formerly good Patriots.*

*S.* GOod morrow Neighbour, what News have we this morning?

*C.* There's a great noise of the *French* bafling our Fleet, which differently affects fuch as come to buy Swords at my Shop.

*S.* I find the same, with perfons that come to buy Arms from me.

*C.* If you note your men, you'l find the countenance of the Tory well pleased; but the Whig inclined. The Tory exulteth for woe, and the Non-lighters; the Whig condemns them. The Tory revileth the *Dutch*, the Whig applaudeth them. The Tory obftructs our preparations by fuch Clubs, the Whig is for removing the Impediments and prevent our danger, though he fear nothing as the Treachery of Tory, and therefore is more forward to act feparate from him, than in conjunction with him.

*S.* I find them whom people call Whiggs and Tories as divided in their Sentiments of the Irish affairs, the Tory compaffionates *K. James*'s defeat, the Whig laments it. The Tory grumbles at *K. W.* Expenditure and great Deliverances the Whig is pleased therewith, and heartily beleeth God for it: The Tory feems to hope the work three will not be fo foon finished, the Whig cheerfully concludes the difficulty over. The Tory is concerned that *K. W.* is like to return fo foon, the Whig earnestly longs for it, though he was afraid of his going thither.

*C.* The difference between these Whigs and Tories is to great in every thing, as if they were neither of one Religion, Country, or Nature.

*S.* I hear a confused Talk of Whig and Tory, I could wish I well understood what is intended by these Names, and how I may know the men.

*C.* The whole Kingdom is divided into Whig and Tory, as Ireland was, and will be diftinguished by that which these later names do fignifie; it concerns us to understand them, that we undo not our felves by bellowing that wrong title on those we take to be our Friends, or Patrons safety or ruin depends on this, whether the Whigs or Tory get power.

*S.* I have been made to believe that all the Church of *England* are Tories, and that all Presbyterians are the Whiggs.

*C.* What can be a plainer mistake? For the Heads and chief Body of the Whiggs are in the Church of *England*, and Diffenters are only Helpers to them in the Whiggish Caufe. The Tories are for Kings and Elections, are they not generally the Conformists?

*S.* I confess they are, look into the late Convention and Parliament, you'l not find three Tawny Diffenters, though it was called a Whiggifh Parliament.

*S.* I see its a cheat that Diffenters are the only Whiggs. But others tell me that all fuch are Tories who are for Monarchy, and all the Whiggs for a Commonwealth.

*C.* That's as falfe as the other. The Whigg is for an *English* Monarchy, tho not a *French* one. The Whigg is for the Common-wealth, that is for the good of the Nation, but not for the Ruine of the Kings Government, yea he is jealous for *K. W.* and *Q. M.* whereas the Tory would enflave the Nation under the Name of Monarchy, and deftroy Parliaments and Liberties, as they under the Common-wealth.

*S.* It seems then that civil Rights divide the Whiggs, and Tory, the Whigg is concerned so preserve them, the Tory to destroy them.

*C.* You have hitt the matter, and if you add, that a bafe defign of enriching himself on the Ruins of publick Liberty is the Heart of Torifm, the very Tory himself would not be a Slave, but that he may be able to enslave others that are below him

*S.* Can you tell me, what are the Principles of a Tory?

*C.* It's hard to refolve you, becaufe a Tories Principles are fuited to all new occafions, and they never govern him further then a felfish end can be ferved by them, and therefore are changeable as the Moon, and fo ftruple nothing fo it may ferve a prefent turn, to fet up the will of a Prince above all Laws fo that the Prince will gratifie him, to anoint the Succeeding Prince before the Predeceased Tory lanuit; to give Bribes for Places, that he may cheat the Publick: to be for a Non-refistance when he hath all the Power, and bear nothing when ftrips of all chat I have mentioned, to be for bravely rather than bafely to make a tearing noife, when he can believe nothing will be given to make him, and bafely ftarve all in power. To cry up the Church, or fuch popular terms for deftroying that Government they cannot bewitch. To oppofe Ireland in Parliament of the Nation, and to be for it below in Neft Candidate in any election. To buy Fools Votes in all Elections that he may fell their Birthright, and get back his Bribe in a large Penfion, for an opportune Law. To be a Patriot of his Country, undo it, and fell his Country to his utmoft influence, where he can gain by it, to be bargain. In fhort, if you can tell me the inftincts of an abject felfish Spirit that knows no Law, thofe be a Torys Principles.

*S.* God deliver me and mine from the power of a party acting by fuch rules. But what are the Principles of a Whig?

*C.* They are the common Sentiments of every Soul that's virtuous, brave and manly, to love his Country, and prefer the publick good and Liberties; to expect no more than Law and juftice allows him, and to expect all that. To defend his Birthright and Laws, if fundamentally invaded, and to bear Hardships in his own concerns, for the Nation profper: To defcrve an imployment, and not buy it: To manage his Office by rules of Juftice and Humanity. To relent an injury from his Superiours, and to forgive it, if repented, yea, to pity even a Tory in diftrefs; to fight fairly rather than huff; to fatisfie his Judgment every way, whoever is offended; to enrich his Family by diligence, and not by the ruine of others: to quit the beft employment rather than to betray his Country: to obey the Supream power in the Laws: to honor Kingship and Parliaments conform to our *English* conftitution, which is adopted to the common good: To fcorn a bafe action, perjury, falfehood, and little Tricks.

*S.* How degenerate is the Land that can diflike to be governed by fuch Principles as thefe? But pray what would thefe Tories be at, if they could obtain their wishes?

*C.* They would have a King a Slave to his own Luffs, and the Tories Inftrefs; and then they would let him above all Laws: Parliaments muft be Cyphers, or ceafe to be. Soulders be Lords paramount, Courts of Juftice be at beck to wreak their Malice, and give caufes according to a Court letter; they would have all mens Eftates at the Kings pleafure, that is their own difpofal. They would have all Whigs deftroyed whether Churchmen or Diffenters, all rights of Election removed, and all Officers of Corporations in their nominating. They would ufe corrupt Judges and Sheriffs and pack'd Juries, the Laws a Nofe of Wax, and every manifeft prevarication. They would have all the power in the Church, and cry of the Pulpits ferve a Tyrannical purpofe, for fake of preferment in their hand to give. They would have Licence to vile without reftraint, and oppreffive beyond all Danger or Controul *S.* They would have Hell upon Earth! I fhould be glad to hear what the Whiggs deftre?

*C.* They defire the Security of the real Proteftant Religion in an agreeable to Chriftian purpofes, they defire the Safety of true Honour, and Strength of the prefent Monarchies Government, free and juft Elections of Parliaments, that Parliaments redreft grievances and propofe neceffary Laws, that the Revenues and Taxes, of the Nation by Parliaments may be as great as it may fupport the Strength and Honour of the Government and Nation, and be eaffly employ'd to thefe ufes, and not to nourifh the Luffs of Flatterers, or enrich prerogative Favourites. That the Laws have a free courfe and juft execution. That men of probity and worth be in all Employments and Offices of Juftice & incorrupt, that every mans life and property be fecure, Verrue, and Induftry incouraged, no place of Truft fold for money, nor Bribes allowed. That Cheaters of the publick and betrayers of their Country be punished, and the well-deferving find reward: that groß villanies be under reftraint, no more Soulders kept than the Nations exigence requires, which they own as prefent to be great. That the freedom and liberties of Corporations be upheld. And in fine, that neither Anarchy nor Tyranny be our plague or danger. Thefe are the worft things the Whig ftrives for.

*S.* It's ftrange that any Engliſh-man fhould obftruct thefe honeft and happy defigns; and fince you have thus awakened me, I would learn to be Engliſh between thefe two Parties. Give me leave

*C.* Thefe very oppofite principles and defigns will difcreft you as far as they appear in the ſtated courſe of any man. But you may receive fome farther light, if I tell you what Tories have been difcovered from the reign of *Henry* and *Mary* obtained in *England*. To give you a few inſtances. The Tory was in Parliament a Profeſſour, the Whig diſſented it. The Tory fancied every Paragraph of the Liturgy, the Whig ſcrupled the good, the Whig oppoſed it. The Whig petitioned for a Parliament, the Tory cries diſtaſteful an abhorrence of thoſe Petitions. The Tory was for ſuffering the Popiſh Plot, the Whig for the proſecution of it. The Tory was the rigid perſecutor of the Diſſenters, the Whig was the Popiſh plot, and ſpared them. The Whig was for the Bill of Excluſion, the Tory againſt it, and addreſſed in zeal for the Duke. The Tory was eager in purſuing the Exiled Patriots of the Whig party, the Whig were ſeldom thoſe vile deſigns. The Tory was for delivering up the Charters, the Whig againſt it. The Tory was for all the irregular and violent elections of late of Londons Sheriffs, the Whig the regular and juſt. Obſervants of Mr. *Popliſh*, *Dubois*, *&c.* for whoſe in *London* they were generally turned out of the Liveries, fined, *&c.* The Tory was the Courtfool in all humors, the Whig was not ſo. The Tory was for what he was but one: the Whig while a Jury-man in ſuch tryals, was *Ignoramus* and Not Guilty; and when Sheriffs were got for the *Popiſh* turn, he was no more employed. The Tory was for the Militia, and not the Militia, Bench, and all power, when the Whigs were crouded in Priſons, or hiding, in conſtant expectation of death, alſoon as the blood-hounds gave the Tories the Courts pleaſure.

*S.* We have poor memories if we cannot be reminded of Characters ſo late and ſignal, yet the Tories were hot againſt *K. James* at laſt.

*C.* You may well ſay it laſt, for they augmented his Revenue without any ſecurity againſt Arbitrary power; they were the firſt that could to encure their power and employments? whereas had not a divine inſtantaneous diſſolved the union betwixt him and the Tories, he had deſtroyed the Whigs by their hands, and then conſtituted the Tories compliances with his unmoſt deſigns.

*S.* But ſome Diſſenters feem'd *K. J*'s Tools at laſt.

*C.* Hundreds of them after ſuch hardſhips, ſeverity againſt Tories, and a weakneſs betrayed ſome very few: But what were theſe in Number to the Tories, whom he employed to the laſt? What real Power durſt he ever truſt the Diſſenter with? By ſuch as were in little Imployments, the Bulwark of Prerogative and Civil Rights was ſtronger than when in Tory Hands: And once for all ſeveral Miniſters, to the Name of the Diſſenters, did offer *K. James* to lay down their Liberty, rather than contribute to the ruine of the Church of *England*, as was atteſted by his Declaration, which he propoſed to them, when the Biſhops were in the Tower, and the Body of Diſſenters were on the ſame Mind.

*S.* Many of the Diſſenters were addreſſers to the *K.* of *Orange*.

*C.* They were ſo; but it ſoon appeared it was in hopes Toriſm might be refetled; Was not the impoſſe vaniſhed-aſſoon as they ſuſpected, that inſtead of preventing it, *K. James* into their management, the Prince was like to fill the Throne.

*S.* I well remember how our Tory Aldermen, and others, were for ſcouting the late *K. James* at his return, and how the Leaders of the Tories were againſt the Addreſſes.

*C.* And do you forget, that when they could not prevent the Solemnity of *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, how they concurred to ſink the Government of Three Kingdoms into a Common-wealth? Remember *K. James*'s Forces, to receſſitate Guards to keep them harmleſs: How zealous for the Sacrament Teſt, left the K. might enjoy the aſſiſtance of ſuch that would be true to him? And laſtly, they ſtill endeavour to irritate them: Thefe delayed to raiſe Money; they expenſively laid out the Treaſure, to receſſitate ſuch Taxes as will render the Vulgar neceſſary thefe go in Tools fitted to make Money and Slaves: Thefe and dangerous Principles of the Kings Enemies, as ſuperſed by them in Pamphlets and Talk; thefe imputed to the weakneſs of the Government all the effects of their own faults and ill-management. To ſay nothing of the Non-ſwearers addreſſes to the Pretender to the Kings abſence.

*S.* I have heard many wonder, that after moſt of the Tories had fworn Allegiance to our prefent King and Queen, they ſhould yet be againſt impoſing that Oath on the Clergy, and ſtill the Bill of Recognition, againſt owning their preſent Majeſtie: to be rightful King and Queen, though they knew a King *de facto* only, is but an illurper, whom every Man is bound to his utmoſt to dethrone, which another hath that Right; and that by this vain diſtinction the greateſt Enemies were legally capable of all Power; thefe were againſt renouncing *K. James*, and indeed againſt every thing that ſeemed moſt favourable to the preſent Conſtitution gall which convince me that the Tory Enemies to the Govern-

Government, who swear to it, are far worse Men than such as refuse to swear.

*C.* Alas. How many do profanely juggle in their Prayers, mock at the most serious Duties, plead for K. *James*, poison K. *William*'s Success, and rejoice at any News threatning ruine to our Settlement?

*S.* By their Discourses and Carriage, I am confident many of them are for restoring K. *James* by this *French* Invasion, and not a little concerned in the Plot we hear of.

*C.* Some of this Sort are apprehended; and I wish none be guilty, who by their greater Influence will more hurt Religion in City and Country. I cannot but think it fit in the late public Attempts to clear all Suspicions.

*S.* It's unaccountable to me, that Church Whigs were call out of Employs, to make room for the most notorious Tories: Or, What Employs, to make room for the most notorious Tories: Or, What endless Men are here, digested in our Lieutenancy and Militia? What endeavours to prefs an imitation of our example through the Kingdom? What spending of Money and Pains to get Tools for Mayors, Sheriffs, and Common-Council-men? When I hear fome Men talk, it's not hard to judge what sit their Power will be put to, if opportunity be given; and I am sure we may thank God that they carried it not for Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

*C.* Their goodness is fome security; but we may blefs God for the feasonable Success of our King in *Ireland*. It's that which disappoints the French Fleet hovers on our Coasts in expectation of, through which the *French* Fleet hovers on our Coasts in expectation of, through which the *French* Fleet hovers on our Coasts in expectation of, though it yet does not, from thence the advantages which *England*'s Treasury and Jealousies give them.

*S.* Whether are the Whigs or Tories the greater number?

*C.* The Whigs are far the greater number, though the Tory in the lowder noise; for though on the Restauration the Tories had a advantages, by the obnoxiousness of the Whigs to fome of those advantages, by the obnoxiousness of the Whigs to fome of those Men, and the Whigs Zeal to Religion and Liberty, as well as their Interest, to the Nation; though all Power was in Tory Hands; the cry of Whiggism, and Nonconformity; the Furnace of Persecution; the Pulpit was engaged for them; the Dissenters Interest was affrighted to a Neutrality yet after all these Discouragements, the Zeal for Religion and Liberty; and the hatred Subjects and Arrsufted to make Parliaments Slaves, yet the Whigs carried it in the three last Parliaments, in *Charles*'s time; if it was so then, you may be sure the Whigs are more numerous now, when the Plummets are liveried from fear, as truly Whiggish as any now, when the Plummets are liveried from fear, as truly Whiggish as any many Tories fee their weakness, who, were influences of heavenly, may be relyed on, and sooner he will set up a Tory King, than a Tory King in place, but some will in time choose it one more approved.

*S.* Which is the stronger Interest in *England*, if the Government stand Neutral.

*C.* Besides the Ballance in Numbers, every single is in himself, for Steadiness and Courage, worth five Tories, and in its influence among his Neighbours for one undo forty of equal Estate; for the Tory's Servitude commands Slaves, and the Whig's Cause will engage few to venture farther than Power forceth, or Places bribe, and in a guilt and insolence expose him to the dislike of all indifferent Men.

*S.* How come the Tories to have the greater Interest in not great.

*C.* Partly by the Numbers they have made partakers in their guilt, principally by the Places and Power which they too oft poffess in the Government.

*S.* What way did the Tory suffer to get Power heretofore.

*C.* He still promoted the King arbitrariness in Power, Obedience without regard to Laws, Religion, and the Nation; and as his Lift did waive the Subjects Liberties and Estates, and made Parliaments Slaves, he was sure of the Subjects Liberties and Estates, and made Parliaments Slaves, he was sure of bought Offices at a dear rate, well knowing how to make the Publick bear his charges. When Parliament-Members, or even Officers were to be elected, he was sure to be popular: Officers were to be elected, he was sure to be popular: Officers were to be elected, he was sure to be popular: